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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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How Can Austria Survive as an Individual Democratic Nation?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.

Speakers

KARL GRUBER
OSCAR POLLAK

IRVING BROWN
JESMOND D. BALMER

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COMING

— August 9, 1949 —

What Does Democracy Mean to Italy?

— August 16, 1949 —

What Should Be Turkey's Role Between the East and the West?

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THE BROADCAST OF AUGUST 9:

"What Does Democracy Mean to Italy?"



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"What Should Be Turkey's Role Between the East and the West?"



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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



AUGUST 2, 1949

VOL. 15, No. 14

How Can Austria Survive as an Individual Democratic Nation?

Mayor Morrison:

This is De Lesseps Morrison, Mayor of the City of New Orleans and president of the American Municipal Association, speaking to you from old Vienna, deep in the heart of the Russian Zone of Austria. Besides being steeped in famous tradition and fascinating history, Vienna is the farthest point east in Europe that our Town Hall World Seminar will penetrate. It differs in many ways from the last stop we made in Berlin. First of all, the sole U. S. airfield, where our party landed, is completely within the Russian Zone of Occupation. Nothing could be more beautiful and more pleasant and peaceful than the golden valleys winding along the famous Danube into Vienna. Incidentally, the Danube is blue only in May, and, then, solely in the eyes of the lovers. I say "peaceful" because it is in strange contrast to the delicate, yet explosive, nature of this outpost in the cold war of nerves.

Uniquely here, as nowhere else in the world, the flags of four powers fly side by side. And even more oddly, the police patrols are driven by American M.P.'s accompanied in the same vehicles by Russian, French, and English soldiers.

Now, to preside over our discussion, here is your moderator, the president of Town Hall and founder of America's Town Meeting of the Air, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Guten Aben, Nachbarn. Good evening, neighbors. Once again, we invite you to join us in an outpost of freedom in the shadow of the Iron Curtain, where we are the guests of the Austro-

American Society. Thanks to the splendid coöperation of this society, the Austrian Government, and our own military forces we are able to bring you a frank and uncensored discussion of a situation of vital concern not only to Austria, but to every one of us concerned with world peace. This country in the heart of Europe, in the days of Emperor Franz Joseph, was able to organize and keep the peace for more than half a century.

After two world wars, the nations of Western Europe are meeting once again this month to work out a plan to promote unity and peace on this war-ridden Continent. Naturally enough, the people of Austria are anxious to conclude a treaty with the allied powers, and to have done with the occupation.

There arises immediately a question "How Can Austria Survive as an Individual Democratic Nation?" To counsel with us on this question, we are fortunate to have four outstanding authorities — two Americans and two Austrians — who are thoroughly familiar with all phases of the problem: Mr. Irving Brown, European representative of the American Federation of Labor; Brigadier General Jesmond D. Balmer, Deputy High Commissioner with the U. S. Forces in Austria; Oscar Pollak, editor of the *Wiener Arbeiterzeitung*, and member of the Socialist Party Executive and Dr. Karl Gruber, Foreign Minister and leader of the People's party.

We'll hear first from Irving Joseph Brown, who has made this his serious business, for the past four years, to study economic conditions in all Europe. During that period, he visited 16 countries and 80 European cities. He's deeply interested in the working out of the Marshall Plan, which he watches, with the eye of a trained observer, from his Brussels office. He's a member of our Town Hall World Seminar, and we're pleased to present him to our Town Hall audience in America and Austria, and to the world by short wave. Mr. Brown. (Applause)

Mr. Brown:

The Moscow Declaration of 1943 characterized Austria as the first victim of Nazi aggression. The Soviet Union has violated this agreement by her seizure of industrial assets and demands for reparations. This has constituted a major obstacle to Austria becoming independent since the liberation.

The Soviet Union has yet to withdraw from any occupied country without first nailing down some form of political power. That means a government to be relied upon, relative to all questions of Soviet foreign policy and a decisive position for the local Communist party.

It has been precisely this political insurance which Russia lacks in Austria, where the Communist party has polled less than five per cent of the vote and has small influence in the trade unions. But this will not be sufficient to guarantee the Soviet's non-intervention, because Austria's industrial and natural resources, especially oil, have also loomed large in the picture.

Austria has become one of the key industrial countries of the Danubian region in recent years. Russia has constantly looked upon this industrial prize with covetous eyes. It would combine rather well with the rest of her conquests in the Balkans. The Peltzendorf oil fields are an item which no aggressive imperialist power could resist, and the Russians are making pikers out of any of the imperialist robber barons who ever walked the face of the earth.

Up to the present, Russia seems to have been determined to hold on to what has been the third leading oil producer of Europe. This digging into the very lifeblood of the Austrian economy has been and remains the greatest obstacle to the survival of Austria as an independent nation. These vested interests have caused the Russians to fight more tenaciously against Austrian nationalization than any alleged hard-bitten reactionary capitalists. (*Applause*)

But the U.S.S.R. has failed miserably in attempts to get political influence in Austria. She has failed in the blockade of Berlin, and according to all reports, economic crisis hounds Eastern Europe which now longs to revive east-west trade. Perhaps the failure of a policy and the Tito-Cominform conflict have driven Russia to seek new partial adjustments with the West. So once again, Austria can hope for the end of the occupation nightmare and dare to dream of independence.

The Soviet Union says it is ready now to sign an Austrian treaty, which should be the signal for the withdrawal of troops, not only from Austria but Rumania and Hungary. But past experience has already shown how difficult it is to enforce treaty observance by Russia's satellite powers. Without security from military intervention, Austria's survival would remain in great doubt, and I'm sure, General Balmer, that you will agree, as American military adviser, that this cannot be ignored by the democratic powers. But even more serious, Russia is to secure economic concessions which compromise Austria's ability to survive as an independent nation. The Soviet agency administering its property in Austria has a dominant position in Austrian industry. Such an economic drain may seriously affect the standards of living in Austria.

If Austria is to survive as an independent nation, it will need all the economic resources it can muster. Even then this small truncated nation will have a tough row to hoe, as the period between the last two wars demonstrated. It will need American economic aid at least until 1952. It will need a prosperous Europe with which to trade, and, above all, the economic unification of Western Europe, into which Germany is integrated, will be needed by Austria in order to expand her export-import relationships.

Internal security, if economic and political stability is assured, can be maintained by an Austrian army of 58,000, according to our good friend Dr. Gruber. External security is menaced only from the East. It is to be assumed that external military threats can only be countered by the support of the larger powers.

Austria lies at the very crossroads of Western and Eastern Europe. Every guarantee and protection should be forthcoming that totalitarian aggression, whether internal or external, would be met by the democratic world support of Austria as an independent and sovereign nation. (Applause)

But Austria's greatest asset is her will to survive, which is only half of the battle. This can be seen in the revival of a powerful labor movement and the re-creation of democratic institutions and parties. I'm sure that my good friend, Oscar Pollak, will testify to this aspect of Austria. It is also to be seen further in the industriousness of Austria's workers and farmers. But the will to survive is not enough, unless the treaty is negotiated providing for some guarantee of economic, political, and military security. It is our duty and responsibility to see to it that such a treaty can be negotiated. Otherwise, Austria's independence will be a myth. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Brown. One of the most vigorous leaders of Austria is Editor Oscar Pollak, of the *Wiener Arbeiterzeitung*, a member of the Socialist Party Executive. Dr. Pollak is a graduate of Vienna University in law, but soon entered the field of journalism. He has always been interested in politics, and was for a time Assistant Secretary of Labor. He lived abroad from 1936 to 1945 in Brussels, Paris, and London during the war, and was the first civilian returning to Austria after the war from the West. His paper enjoys the largest circulation in the entire nation. Dr. Pollak, what is your opinion on tonight's question? Dr. Oscar Pollak. (Applause)

Dr. Pollak:

I want to start by saying how particularly glad I am to speak

after Irving Brown. He's an old friend of Austria, you know, and I'm sure he remembers—don't you, Irving—how he and I first met in Vienna some years ago, soon after the war, when Vienna was still a city of ruins, of hunger, and of fear. Well, look around today. You can't fail to notice the signs of revival. This meeting here tonight, and its surroundings, are in themselves a sign of Austria's determined will to live.

I hope we are all agreed that it is most desirable and possible to make an independent and democratic Austria live, and that it should be a country fit for a free people, for all men and women of that people to live in. Our discussion, I suppose, will deal with the appropriate ways and means to achieve this end. From the outset, I want to draw your attention to two points which seem to me fundamental.

One is that Austria, in my opinion, is a test case with regard to the whole of Europe. Test case for what? For the chance of small nations, living in a world of nation giants, of power blocs, of zones of influence—test case for the conditions in which those small nations can survive. In such a world, no small nation can live on its own. It can only live in and by the integration into a working community of free nations.

In other words, Austria will be able to exist only if we arrive at a workable organization of Europe as part of an organization of the world.

Why do I say that this intelligent organization of Europe will be tested in Austria? This is no exaggerated notion of our national importance; no pride or presumption. Geography has put us in the very heart of this continent of Europe. Present-day politics have put our little country in a position precariously poised on the very border line of the spheres of influence of the world powers.

We are today the easternmost outpost of the Western World. This is why we have had in recent years the experience of being Europe's political guinea pig, or, if you prefer, its testing laboratory or its battlefield ground.

Both the last world wars started from here. When fascism began its apocalyptic course, it had to get a grip here on the borders of the Danube before it could set out on the conquest of Europe. After the war, Austria had to undergo an interallied occupation lasting now nearly as long as the war itself.

My second point will be this: Austria—this little country on the border line—has survived as a free nation, rebuilt its economic life, remade its democratic structure. It has withstood both threats and blandishments from that other world that reaches right up to our eastern frontier—hardly an hour's car ride from

Vienna. If it has done so, this was possible only because the working people of Austria have stood foursquare for democracy (*Applause*), and have participated at the cost of great effort and exertions—indeed, of great privations—in the job of reconstruction.

My contention, which I want to make as conservative as possible, is that Austria would not be what it is today, that we could not meet here as we do today, if Austrian labor, if the Socialist workers of Austria had not kept the watch on the Danube for freedom. (*Applause*)

Never could Austria's reconstruction have been accomplished but for the coöperation of Austrian labor with the other democratic elements of our people. Never could Austria's freedom have been maintained by the Conservative forces alone.

I say more: Democracy will not be saved or maintained anywhere—least of all here on the border line against dictatorship—unless the workers join in the job voluntarily, and, because it is a progressive democracy, moving with the times and giving the working people their fair share in social adjustment and in social advance.

This is the importance of our progressive social legislation. That is what has been called the social defense of democracy. I believe in it for Austria. I believe in it for Europe. And I hope that here again Austria will give an example which Europe and the world may follow. (*Applause*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Pollak. Our next speaker is the military adviser to the United States Delegation to the Council of Foreign Ministers and the Peace Conference in Paris. Brigadier General Jesmond D. Balmer is also Deputy High Commissioner of the U. S. Forces in Austria and a member of the Allied Commission for Austria.

General Balmer, who was born in Pullman, Washington, began his service in the Army as a private in 1917. He worked his way to his present high post during an extensive career of foreign service in our armed forces in two world wars and the years between. We are indeed fortunate to have his counsel on tonight's question, and he appears on our program by consent of the High Commissioner. I take pleasure in presenting Brigadier General Jesmond D. Balmer. General Balmer. (*Applause*)

General Balmer:

Mr. Brown is worried about what the Russians are going to do to Austria. Dr. Pollak is worried about what the Western World

going to do for Austria. Dr. Gruber, presumably, is worried about what the Big Four are going to do *about* Austria. Let us think for a moment about what Austria is going to do for itself. (Applause)

I am speaking here as an individual American who has had the rare opportunity to join with the Austrian people in the rebuilding of their country. Austria has clearly demonstrated its will to achieve freedom and independence. The speed with which Austria discarded totalitarian habits, the coöperation demonstrated by the Austrian people, and the remarkable economic recovery since the hard days of 1945 and 1946 give ample evidence of this determination.

Again and again in the course of history, Austria has borne the brunt of invasions of western civilization. It is again on this frontier. In this critical position, Austria must recover from the ravages of war and still obtain full independence. It now appears that even greater economic burdens must be assumed to win this independence. How will Austria carry this burden?

Austria today has greater industrial potential than before the German occupation. It has a greater trade possibility. It has a stake in the Marshall Plan which is giving it the necessary impetus for development. Austria has shown itself capable of coöperating in a world of interrelated economies.

Austria's main task will be to increase its production by more efficient methods—new machinery—and to balance this production between external and internal demands. This is all the more necessary since Austria must import a high percentage of its food supply. Austria must export in order to eat. Its exports must be predominantly manufactured products rather than raw materials. Austria must be able to manufacture consumers' goods as well as capital goods which can compete in quality and price on the world market.

This goal of a favorable balance of trade can be reached, but it will not be easy. It will require many sacrifices. The Austrians must realize that not only their future prosperity but their very existence as an independent nation depends upon the achievement of this goal.

Increased economic production requires political stability. The government must have the confidence of the people. It must be able to coördinate the workers and the wheels of industry. This can only be accomplished by democratic methods. The record, to date, is good. The stability of Austria's government stands out in an unstable world. This stability has been achieved because the major political parties, while disagreeing on many points, are

willing to try to understand each other's views and to make necessary concessions.

Austria must continue to guard against a temptation to take a totalitarian shortcut either to the right or to the left. Dictatorship may temporarily increase efficiency, but no permanent prosperity can be built on a system which involves the coercion of the people.

Fortunately, most of the population rejects the solutions which communism and fascism prefer to offer. There is no reason at present to fear that the Austrian people will sacrifice their liberties to gain an illusion of stability.

In other words, Austria's survival as an independent, democratic country depends on Austrians like you, Dr. Pollak, and you Dr. Gruber. And the help of the world, which Dr. Pollak pleaded for, will be measured by how you accept this joint responsibility (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, General Balmer. One of the brilliant and widely known leaders of this small but strategic country is Dr. Karl Gruber, now its Foreign Minister and a leader of the People's party, which with the Socialist party comprises the present coalition government in Austria.

Dr. Gruber is a native of the Austrian Tyrol. He was born in Innsbruck in 1909. Ousted from his job here in Vienna in 1938 when the Nazis came to power, he soon founded an important resistance group, and returned to the Tyrol in 1945 to organize local resistance which led to the liberation of the Tyrol from the Nazis shortly before the American troops arrived. He organized the first provisional government in the Tyrol and came to Vienna as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. When the present government was elected, he became Minister of Foreign Affairs. I take pleasure in presenting the Foreign Minister, Dr. Karl Gruber. (Applause)

Dr. Gruber:

A long-lasting occupation deteriorates the public morale and undermines the foundation of national vitality. To our country freedom is as important as bread. Nobody in Austria has ever doubted that the land and its people will have to bear the obligations and risks of freedom.

Much has been said about the dangers to which Austria might be exposed after the withdrawal of the occupation forces. For us stands the rule: Fear is no basis for a sound policy. A free system which loses the courage to face the future is bound to perish. Ar

the risks involved in Austria's complete independence rational and calculated? We believe they are.

It must be considered a mistake to hint at certain other countries as an example of what might happen in Austria. The situation here is in many ways different. In those countries, the legal seizure of power by minority was made possible only by the inability and the unwillingness of their state administration to resist. Long before the real assault ever began, these nations were rendered powerless by the demoralizing effects of infiltration, treachery, and treason.

In Austria, until now, a reverse development has taken place. We have successfully resisted or overcome subversive infiltration. Our people are now and will remain imbued with the spirit of resistance.

In addition, Austria derives much strength and stability from her federal constitution. Under this constitution, each province is provided with enough autonomy to enable independent action in case of emergency.

Austria's most important sources of strength and stability are her free farmers with their centuries-old traditions of freedom and independence. The Austrian farmer loves freedom. He is rooted in his land. He can be counted on for faithful adherence to his independent and free country.

Another important factor to remember is the Austrian worker's character. He is cool-headed and loyal. Communist influence in our trade unions is negligible.

It is true that Austria could never alone successfully resist an all-out military onslaught from outside. However, it is my firm conviction that after the establishment of a federal army we could maintain all our original frontiers.

General Balmer and Mr. Brown have stressed the importance of the economic questions. We agree. At the same time, we should like to add that however serious the efforts of the Austrian people will be to stabilize their economy, they will never achieve this without obtaining freedom first. The indispensable condition of freedom is a united people. The two large parties representing a 55 per cent majority of the Austrian population are determined to coöperate.

The last speaker, Mr. Pollak, has laid particular stress on the participation of organized labor in the struggle for freedom. Nobody could more willingly agree to this than a member of the Austrian government. We must, however, state first and foremost that the safety of this state is based on a unity of its people. No class alone could ever build it up and protect it. Freedom

is and will always be the result of common effort. The impending elections will scarcely produce changes of any moment. The recidivist Nazis in Austria are no more numerous than that of the radical Leftists. The overwhelming majority of the Austrian people loves freedom, is democratic and patriotic. Upon them will rest the security of the state. The maturity, the already successful resolution to achieve the rehabilitation of the country, should give to the world the guarantee that the country must attain her freedom and will be able to preserve it.

From what I have said you may gain the impression I am in flat contradiction with Mr. Brown. I feel, however, that Mr. Brown has given only one side of the picture. He was speaking of the dangers of the future and not of the present ones. If the dangers he outlines are real without a treaty, one-half of the country voluntarily will be exposed to those dangers in order to obtain freedom for the other half. No decent patriotic people could act along those lines. The Austrian people prefer to join together in shouldering the common burden and in sharing any changes that may come their way. They would rather do this than try to avoid any real or imaginary danger at the price of half their fellow citizens. (*Applause*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Gruber. Tonight we have a fine representative audience here in the Mozart Salon of the Vienna Concert Hall assembled by the Austro-American Society and the Information Branch of our Armed Forces in Austria. We want to allow plenty of time for questions, so we'll get to them right after this special message for our listeners.

Mr. Smith: This is Fred W. Smith, past president of Lions International, speaking to you from Vienna. I should like to address these few remarks not only to Lions everywhere but to every member of all of the service clubs. This is the fourth city that we have visited. Most of the scars of war are in the process of repair. As I look from my hotel window I can see these new, mammoth steel girders atop the celebrated Grand Opera Building. Your hospitality here is very effective, for we—all the members of the Town Hall party—would very much prefer to stay at least a week. The music of Strauss, Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms, and Liszt and many others can be heard any afternoon and any evening as one sits in Vienna's city park.

Then, too, I believe these people love their freedom, for they too, like the people of Berlin, would like to be free of all the Occupation Forces. (*Applause*) But when that happens, these

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

KARL GRUBER—Leader of the Conservatives, Karl Gruber is Austria's Foreign Minister. Born in Innsbruck, Austria, in 1909, Mr. Gruber studied at the Technical School for Electrical Engineering and at Innsbruck School of Law. He was awarded an LL.D. by Vienna University in 1937 and by the University of Southern California in 1946.

Until 1938, Mr. Gruber was an official of the Austrian Postal Department.

With the beginning of World War II, he became an electrical engineer and resistance leader. From the liberation in May, 1945, until September of the same year he was governor of the province. For a short time, he was Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs within the provisional Austrian Government, and since November, 1945, has been minister for foreign affairs. Since 1946, Mr. Gruber has also been a lecturer on economics at Vienna University.

OSCAR POLLAK—Dr. Pollak is editor of the *Wiener Arbeiterzeitung*. He is also a member of the Socialist Party Executive.

IRVING BROWN—Born in New York City in 1911, Irving Brown has an A.B. degree from New York University and has also studied at Columbia. From 1937 to 1940 he was international representative of the United Automobile

Workers (A.F.L.). For the same group he has served as executive board member and A.F.L. representative. From 1942 to 1945, he was deputy vice chairman for production readjustments in the office of labor production for WPB. In 1945, he became director of the labor and manpower division, enemy branch, of the Foreign Economic Administration.

JESMOND DENE BALMER—Brigadier General Balmer is Deputy High Commissioner of the U. S. Forces in Austria. He is also military adviser to the U. S. Delegation to the Council of Foreign Ministers for work on the treaty with Austria.

Born in Pullman, Washington, in 1895, he was a student at the University of Washington from 1914 to 1917. He was commissioned second lieutenant in the United States Army in June, 1918, and advanced through the grades to brigadier general in June, 1942. He is a graduate of the Field Artillery School, the Command and General Staff School, the Army War College, and the Naval War College.

General Balmer served with the A.E.F. in World War I. From 1942 to 1944, he was commandant of the Field Artillery School at Fort Sill, Okla. Then he became commanding general of the 23d Corps Artillery and deputy commander of the Corps. In his present position he is stationed in Austria.

People must be assured that they are free from any type of outside pressure. We must keep in mind, we people in America, that we are nearly four thousand miles away, while the Soviets are just across the Danube.

Now, for our question period, we return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Now, friends, before we begin our question period, we are greatly honored this evening by having in this fine representative audience two of the most distinguished figures in Austria today—our own High Commissioner, Lieutenant General Geoffrey Denny, Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Forces in Austria, and Chancellor Leopold Figl, the leader of the Austrian government. Gentlemen, will you rise and let us greet you? (*Applause*)

Thank you, very much, indeed. Now, just before we take the questions from this fine audience, I'm going to ask two members of our Seminar to step up here and start with their questions. Mayor Welsh, who presented the Scroll of Town Hall on behalf

of our Town Hall listeners to the Mayor of Vienna this morning has the first question for Mr. Pollak.

Mayor Welsh: How can this country, which, incidentally, has contributed so much in culture to the world, stand against the East unless, (1), the Western powers stay here in military force or (2), the Western European states are strengthened—as my fellow townsman, Senator Vandenberg, urges so ardently under the Atlantic Pact—so that they can come to the aid of Austria before this fine little country is overrun?

Mr. Pollak: The danger from the East has to be avoided in two ways: By external powers—it is beyond our reach to discuss their moves—but also by internal forces in Austria. And here I will give my friends the assurance that the danger of anyone in Austria supporting any move directed against Austria's freedom is very small, indeed. Ninety-five per cent of the Austrian population are supporting the two great parties who presently form Austria's government. They are both set for Austria's freedom and we don't think that the remaining five per cent can upse them. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Here's a question from Mr. William Denison of Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Denison: Dr. Gruber, I would like to ask you a similar question. If an Austrian treaty is signed and all occupying powers are removed, just what specific steps do you propose to take to prevent the same thing happening here that happened in Czechoslovakia?

Dr. Gruber: Well, I think my answer was included in my leading speech, but I want to repeat this: A thing like that cannot happen in our country for different reasons. First of all, the radical group here is a small one. As my friend, Mr. Pollak, said before, 95 per cent are behind the government.

Secondly, we control the countryside. They cannot use the village to build up a barrier for civil war in this country.

Thirdly, do not forget the trade unions in this country are well controlled by parties which have nothing to do with the side which might be a danger to the state.

But, last of all, the state administration is clearly in the hands of the democratic element. That is the most important thing. You should never forget that only a state which has control of its own forces, which has no traitors in its own organization, is able to resist. This is a thing which should give us reassurance. What the speaker hinted in his question cannot happen in this country.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. We'll start our question period now with the gentleman over there under the balcony.

Man: I'd like to present this question to Dr. Gruber. Do you think that Austria will survive as an independent democratic nation if any one of the present political parties permits the 50,000 Nazi voters to infiltrate back into power again? (*Applause*)

Dr. Gruber: Naturally, I cannot give you any assurance about the Socialist party as I am not a member of the Executive Board, but I am sure they will follow the same policy as my party. As far as my party is concerned, I can tell you one thing: that we will always prevent any resurrection of Nazism in this country.

You should not take the two questions together; that is, to leading the character group of the so-called former Nazis back to political life, but only to recognize the democratic principles of the state. So you can be sure that at least my party is resolved and determined not to let in any sort of Nazism or fascism.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman back there under the balcony.

Man: I should like to ask a question of our Foreign Minister. Will Austria follow the line of neutrality like Switzerland when the occupation troops have left the country?

Dr. Gruber: Our policy which we followed was one of neutrality and, naturally, neutrality alone is not sufficient if the state is not in a position to defend its own frontiers. For that reason, the main condition to keep advancing forward is to build up an Austrian army which is sufficient to keep order along their own frontiers and to keep, at least, any minor attacks from their own frontiers. This is the real basis of neutrality—a thing that never should be overlooked when this question must be raised.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Elmer Cope of the C.I.O., a member of our Seminar, is here to ask a question.

Mr. Cope: I'd like to address my question, if I may, to both of the Austrian speakers. It is along the line of the question that was asked by the previous inquisitor. In the present world I have noted in Europe especially and certainly it involves America—that there is a very distinct line of division set up between the East and the West. As has been pointed out here tonight, Austria certainly borders on the East, and I'm asking the representatives of both political parties here—presumably one or the other will be the government—whether or not it is possible for Austria to remain neutral and attempt to appease the East in this situation.

Mr. Pollak: I'd like to make it clear that, in my opinion, neutrality doesn't mean appeasement. (*Applause*) I've always held the opinion that neutrality is some form of international relationship, while appeasement is, it seems to me, a most unnecessary and harmful state of mind.

As far as the Austrian Labor Movement is concerned, we stand for the political neutrality of the Austrian Republic, which we consider to be essential. We do not stand for appeasement or neutrality in political or spiritual matters. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Gruber.

Dr. Gruber: I think Mr. Pollak has given a very good answer in saying that neutrality has nothing to do with appeasement. I want to add this: Neutrality is not only a thing for the state which stands for neutrality, but for the states which surround it. Neutrality always means that you have to turn against a state or power which tries to interfere in your internal affairs. But at least I can assure you of one thing: Neutrality for us means that we will not turn a back against this or that nation, but we will be resolute and determined in defending our internal system and our freedom. If somebody tries to threaten this freedom, we will stand up and make the utmost resistance of which we are capable.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Gruber. Mr. Irving Brown has a comment on that.

Mr. Brown: I should just like to emphasize that what happens in the world and what happens to any individual nation, including Austria, doesn't only depend upon what Austria does or does not do. What I am trying to emphasize, and what has been clear in the last four years in Europe, is that the Soviet Union is not content with whether you are neutral or not, it is not content with whether you appease or not; that the Soviet Union in Europe up to the present stage has yet to leave any nation which it occupies without getting some form of economic and political power which prevents that nation from being independent and democratic. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Question here?

Man: I'd like to get away from the political question for a minute and get back to the question of food, which is very dear to the hearts of all of us here in Austria. I'd like to ask General Balmer, how are we helping Austria to help herself by importing tremendous amounts of food into Austria?

Mr. Denny: General Balmer, can you answer that question?

General Balmer: We're helping Austria by putting them back on their feet. In the beginning—when the troops came in here—they were fed on a zonal basis. They could not feed themselves as a whole. Austria first started to live at the advent of UNRRA. When UNRRA came in with lots of free food, the Allied Council was forced, in order to distribute that throughout Austria, to pass a resolution—a decision—giving back to the Austrian government the right to feed themselves. It was from that decision and from

at day that the Austrian government began to gather its power and strength. It's entirely based on food.

Now, as that food came in, they gradually built back their strength, increased their calories from 1,200 up to where they are now at 2,100, and they're now able to work. That has brought back the industry, and the foodstuff now being brought in is coming down and the Austrians' is coming up. But they'll never be able to completely feed themselves as I stated before. They must export to eat.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Here's a question from another member of our seminar, Dr. Clarence Decker of Kansas City.

Dr. Decker: If that happy day should ever come that the Russians would agree to withdraw to their own quarters, do you think it's possible for the world to live peacefully with Russia?

Mr. Brown: No. (*Laughter*) I think I've already answered that question.

Man: I fully agree with Mr. Brown when he says that we cannot live in a political vacuum. Therefore, I would like to ask the two speakers of the Austrian delegation if there are any provisions for the first of all to join this trans-world conference which is just now counseling the European corporation, and furthermore, if there is any idea about joining the North Atlantic Security Area?

Mr. Pollak: There's certainly a desire to join the European Council, but owing to the present formal status which Austria is in, Austria, not yet being a sovereign nation, can't join any such organization until she achieves sovereignty by the said treaty being completed. I can assure my friend that we want to join the European Council. As regards the Atlantic Pact, I should say that we haven't been asked, and we probably shan't be asked to join.

Mr. Denny: Dr. Gruber, would you comment, please, on this question?

Dr. Gruber: Well, naturally, Mr. Pollak is in a better position than I, as a member of the Government, for the very simple reason that the decision to join either this union or that union must lay with the Parliament. I cannot prophesy, as you will understand, the decision of his Parliament. So for that reason, I am not in a position to answer. It is up to the Parliament to decide. I can only add to my statement this: that it is the declared policy of his government not to join any aggressive bloc.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman over there.

Man: This is for Mr. Brown. I should like to ask what elements of added economic strength are there in Austria that will prevent

over the long haul a recurrence of the economic distress that followed World War I for more than a decade?

Mr. Brown: Well, I think General Balmer has already pointed out that Austria is stronger today industrially and economically than she was before the war. I believe that that augurs well for the future of Austria. But I am emphasizing that even in spite of the additional economic strife, Austria faces basically the same kind of a problem that it faced between the last two wars, and that Austria cannot survive economically unless Europe survives. And unless Europe is united economically, it is my opinion that there is no future, not only for Austria, but for Western Europe as a functioning economy. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Next question.

Man: General Balmer, do you think that a prospective Austrian army will have the effectiveness to resist a possible attack from the East without the western powers backing it?

Mr. Denny: That's a good, practical military question, General. What's your guess?

General Balmer: No. (*Laughter*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. (*Applause*) You take a prize of a box of cigars for the shortest answer tonight. Yes, sir, next question.

Man: We read in the papers a few weeks ago that the Nazi party was meeting somewhere near Salzburg. Is it true, Dr. Pollak, that certain representatives of Austrian parties were there and made a deal with them for a certain number of seats in exchange for their votes?

Dr. Pollak: It's well known, and it's been published in other papers but mine, that in some part of Upper Austria a meeting took place, not between any representative of the Nazi party which doesn't exist—but between some former leaders of the Nazis, and some representatives of an Austrian political party which wasn't mine. (*Laughter and applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Gruber has a comment.

Dr. Gruber: Well, I want to state clearly that in this meeting which you hinted there was nothing of great importance to the Parliament. I think the sole reason for this meeting was this: Some of the former Nazis wanted to appeal to the gentlemen who were there, from my party, for some alleviation of the burden which was laid on them by the so-called Nazi law.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, the gentleman in the aisle.

Man: If he is anxious about the future of Austria, does Mr. Brown favor the signing of the Austrian Treaty as soon as possible, or not?

Mr. Brown: That's like the question of "When did you stop beating your wife?"

g your wife?" (*Laughter*) I am for the signing of a treaty, but am opposed to trading security for fake independence. I believe a treaty which will really permit Austria to be independent and democratic. There are many peoples in Eastern Europe. There are the Beneses and the Masaryks and the others who also were ready to have fast treaties or fast agreements and hoped against hope that they could live under or within the shadow of Russian domination without challenging it. Therefore, I say that it is my opinion that Austria should have a treaty but not on the condition of selling itself so it cannot remain stable in order to maintain democracy. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, I particularly thank this audience tonight on behalf of our radio audience in America for asking all its questions in English. This was not necessary, for our interpreter reposed comfortably here on the platform with nothing to do. I thank you very much. Now while our speakers get ready for the summary period, here's a special message of interest to you.

Mayor Morrison: This is Mayor Morrison again reporting on the activities of Town Hall World Seminar in Vienna. After our briefing by the military authorities, we were immediately received in due protocol by His Excellency the Chancellor of Austria, Dr. Leopold Figl, who is here tonight. Our reception was in the beautiful and historic Chancellory, in the very same room where the Congress of Vienna took place in 1815. In true historic fashion, our discussion seminars have taken place in the Emperor's Winter Palace. We have been received at the United States Legation by Dr. and Mrs. Spaulding.

On the informal side, we have mixed with the Viennese in the famous Vienna Woods, in their quaint restaurants, and have listened to the waltzes of Johann Strauss in their charming wine and beer gardens. All in all, the atmosphere of Vienna makes me forget that she is at the vital crossroads between the East and the West.

Now for the summaries of tonight's discussion, I will return you to Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Dr. Karl Gruber, may we have a final word from you on this question?

Dr. Gruber: In considering the dangers of the future, one cannot take the present conditions as satisfactory, simply because they are not. The present conditions may be all right as far as the security of other countries is concerned, but they will never be for Austria. Naturally free Austria of tomorrow cannot be burdened with all the risks involved in an unsteady world situation. But we Austrians are firmly convinced that we are capable

of resisting all attacks on our freedom, short of war. We believe that nobody can judge this better than the Austrian people themselves. These in Europe will come to the defense of Austrian stability.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Gruber. And now, General Balmer if you please.

General Balmer: This discussion has suggested to me a clinic in which Austria is the patient, the occupying power is the doctor and the outside world is the gallery. As sometimes happens in a clinic, there has been a tendency to concentrate upon the doctors and their conflicting diagnoses and treatments rather than upon the patient and his will to live. Every doctor knows that the patient's will to live is a vital factor in his recovery, and Austria's demonstrated will to live is the basis for this doctor's favorable diagnosis. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, General Balmer. Dr. Pollak, what would be your concluding counsel on this question?

Dr. Pollak: Democracy can't be exported. It has got to grow. But more important, still, than even the export of ERP goods is the exchange or free trade in ideas between the nations of the world. We should have the right ideas about one another, and this meeting may have helped you to get some ideas right about Austria. You have got wrong ideas about us. You think of Austria only in the terms of a Hollywood picture with plenty of waltzing, kissing, and yodeling. Austria is a country of sturdy farmers and hard-working, freedom-loving workingmen who have built a movement strong and proud and faithful to liberty. Trust the freedom-loving people of Austria.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Pollak. Irving Brown, in 30 seconds what would you like to emphasize in concluding this discussion?

Mr. Brown: I'd like to say that it's all well and good to advocate the end of military occupation. I am ready to accept this as an agreed-upon basis for the survival of Austria as an independent democratic nation.

But the question still remains: Under what conditions? Let's remember at this time the millions of people in Eastern Europe who would be ready today to trade in their present so-called sovereignty for Western Allied military occupation. For it was the lack of such an occupation which prevented the survival of the nations as independent and democratic.

This is not to glorify occupation as such, but to accept realistically the conditions of Soviet power politics in the world today. To avoid what happened to the eastern European satellites of the U.S.S.R., the western democratic powers in formulating a sta

city must make certain that economic, political, and military security is guaranteed to Austria. Let us not sacrifice security for a false, receptive kind of independence.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Irving Brown, Dr. Pollak, General Amer, and Dr. Gruber. May we extend our genuine appreciation to Major W. E. Kealey, Public Information officer of the U. S. Forces in Austria and his entire staff, to Dr. Spaulding and the American Legation, to the Austro-American Society for their co-operation and generous hospitality.

Now I'm happy to announce to all of you listeners that we've made arrangements with our publishers to bind all twelve of these Round-the-World Town Meetings in a booklet cover so that they may be purchased in one volume for \$1. Individual copies of each broadcast may be obtained as usual by enclosing 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing and sending your request to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, indicating exactly which broadcast you desire.

If you want printed copies of all twelve of the 'Round-the-World Town Meeting broadcasts in one volume, enclose \$1, or for individual copies, 10 cents and send your order to Town Hall, New York 18, New York.

Next week we move to the fifth city on our world tour—to Rome—another focal point in this struggle between East and West. Our subject there will be "What Does Democracy Mean in Italy?" Our speakers will be Pietro Campilli, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, member of the Christian Democratic party, former Minister of the Treasury; Mr. Paolo Treves, also a member of the Chamber of Deputies, Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and member of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic party. Our American speakers will be Henry J. Taylor, author, foreign correspondent, and commentator for General Motors on this network; and Michael Wright, author and publisher of *The New Republic Magazine*. We are now to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's bell. (Applause)

